

VOICE OF FREEDOM.

VOL. V.

"THE INVIOABILITY OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS IS THE ONLY SECURITY OF PUBLIC LIBERTY."

NO. 23.

J. HOLCOMB & D. S. MURRAY, PUBLISHERS.

BRANDON, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1844.

D. S. MURRAY, PRINTER.

THE VOICE OF FREEDOM,
PUBLISHED WEEKLY, AT BRANDON, VERMONT.

JEDEDIAH HOLCOMB,
AND
WILLIAM G. BROWN, Editors.

TERMS.—One dollar and fifty cents in advance.
One dollar and seventy-five cents in six months.
Two dollars during the last quarter.

All letters relative to the paper should be directed to Holcomb & Murray.

POETRY.

For the Voice of Freedom.

MESSRS. EDITORS:

I found the following lines in the last number of the "Vermont Mercury," which "so roused my" Liberty "spirit," that I appended a few lines as a "reply" to the reply, which I send you I hope they will be published and meet the eye of my whig sister.

"Norwich, Jan. 20, 1844.

Mr. Editor:—In reading the "Spirit of the Age" an article entitled "Come down with the banner" attracted my attention, and so roused my whig spirit, that I ventured a reply. If you consider it worthy of a place in your paper, and will insert it, you will much gratify.

A GREEN MOUNTAIN GIRL.

Cry they "down with the banner" of our Henry Clay?
Do they ask "who will be its support" and its stay?
Perhaps they forget that just four years ago
They asked that same question for Tippecanoe;
And as then we will answer, "Our banners they'll see
Borne onward in victory o'er mountain and lee.
Shall the "bear that ne'er set" have a heart or a vein
That for Clay, as for Tip, does not yet throb the same?
No, the Green Mountain boys, shall the surges still
Fill their gain for a ruler their Clay of the west.
And on blackguards and slanders say what they may
They shall have for President our Henry Clay.
Now to all honest whigs, kind whigs we send;
Be steadfast and fearless, you'll soon gain your end.
For a beacon of victory beckons you on,
And o'er now from your pathway each shadow is gone.
May Heaven's blessings attend you around your bright way,
And her richest gifts shower o'er our friend Henry Clay."

REPLY.

Yes, "down with the banner" of your Henry Clay,
And up with the banner of BARKER, the true;
The one, over morals, holds absolute sway.
The other would have the whole world free as you—
And will you twine a flower-wreath to garland his brow,
Whose feet on his fellows press heavily now?
Shall not State give to our wild winds that blow,
And our free streams, to bear in the strength of their might
To the vales of the South, from our mountains of snow,
A song to the trampler of Freedom and Right?
Shall the Green Mountain girls sing in honor of him,
Whose "star" with the mist of the tear-drop is dim?

Hast thou heard a low sound like a lute on the ear?
Hast thou heard with another's, the cords of thy heart?
In the far sunny South, there's a wail of despair,
There the hearts long united, forever must part!
And will you cheer him on, with your song on the breeze,
Whose tongue has been dumb over horrors like these?

No, Sister;—the banner we weave to fling out
To free winds, must be white as our mountains of snow;
The millions will see it, and send up their shout
O'er the clank of the chain and the wailing of woe!
Then call on your brothers, Clay banners to furl,
And be worthy the name of a GREEN MOUNTAIN GIRL.
Brandon, Jan. 1844.

MISCELLANY.

From the Emancipator & Free American.
Reasons for Voting the Liberty Ticket.

1. The Slave Power constantly violates and tramples upon the natural and constitutional rights of the people of the U. States.

2. By invading their right to life and personal safety. Senator Plessen declared, that, "if they could catch an abolitionist at the South they would hang him, despite of the interference of all the governments of the earth, including the Federal Government." There are more than 60,000 Anti Slavery voters, 9000 of them in Massachusetts, who can not safely pass through their own country, although the U. S. Constitution provides that "citizens of one State shall enjoy all rights and privileges of citizens in the several States." What "right and privilege" can an abolitionist enjoy in South Carolina?

3. By breaking down the right of Free Speech. We may have power to speak what we will, but if we dare to speak against slavery we are punished for it by lynching in the South and disqualification for any important office throughout the nation.

4. By denying to the people the right to serve God in obedience to conscience. God commands us to feed the hungry and help such as want help, and be kind.—The law of Congress, passed 1793, and now in force, makes such Christian duty when performed towards a fugitive slave, a crime, punishable by a fine of \$500. Mercy is a crime under the rule of the slaveholders.

4th. By reducing free citizens of the North to Slavery. In Alabama, Florida, and some other parts of the South, colored citizens of the free or any other States are enslaved, in case they will not leave the State or Territory in a certain time. In all the slave States, they are thrown in jail on suspicion of being fugitive slaves, and if they can not prove their freedom, are sold to pay their jail fees.

5th. By throwing free citizens of the North into prison on account of their color only, when they visit ports of the South where they are sometimes left and sold into slavery.

6th. By overthrowing the last safeguard of Liberty, the Right of Petition, and, in the only cases where they can be useful, viz.: those relating to personal freedom; the right of trial by jury, and privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus.

II. The people are enormously taxed to pay the expenses of this outrageous tyranny.

1st. The North pays at least two-thirds of all duties on imports, and consequently not less than two-thirds of the expenses of a perverted and oppressive government.

2d. In 1842, the northern mail routes cleared \$600,000; the southern sunk in the same time \$571,000, so that about one-half the postage we pay, goes to support the Post Office system of the thrifless South, while at the same time, the mails have repeatedly been broken open and their contents burnt in the public streets for the protection of slavery.

3d. Of all the money paid by the people of the North for the support of the government at least three-fifths is expended directly or indirectly for the support of slavery.

4th. And while we pay what they squander, their system of compulsory labor is impoverishing the whole country, bringing us into periodical bankruptcy, making business unsafe, capital insecure, and the gains of labor uncertain.

III. The measures of the Slave Power, as well as the principles upon which that power is established, are false and pernicious to the country.

1st. The representation of three-fifths of the slave property on the floor of Congress is opposed to every principle of justice and republicanism.

2d. The proposition to annex Texas to the Union, and thereby perpetrate the influence unfortunately obtained by the slaveholders, through the three-fifths principle, is consistent with the accustomed madness of slavery, and threatens the destruction of the last relics of liberty.

IV. The Liberty Party ask nothing contrary to justice, republicanism, and the Constitution of the United States.—They ask for the overthrow of the Slave Power and the abolition of slavery, because it would be safe for the slaveholders, happy for the slave, just and glorious for the country, consistent with the Constitution, and pleasing to God the Judge of all.—Reader, if you are a man, a christian, and a patriot, support the Liberty Party.

Mental Powers of Slaveholders.

There is apparently, as much difference in the mental powers of slaveholders, as there is in these individuals in their natural waking state. There is also a great difference in the relative clearness of their visions, and in the same individuals at different times. Some again will see very clearly, and describe very accurately in an hour or two, and then become wearied or exhausted, when they will make mistakes, and little or no dependence can be placed upon any thing they say. They also sometimes become dispirited, and aware of their superior mental powers, give vent to their spleen by attempts to deceive those around them.—One of the best examples of their extraordinary mental powers, is that described in the following account of some phrenological experiments in Hartford, Conn., in Jan. 1842.

"The subject was an interesting married lady, of high intellectual cultivation, most respectably connected, and of unimpeachable integrity.

"An eminent lawyer being introduced to her, she began with him the discussion of some legal question, astonishing us by the clearness of her conceptions, or keeping us in a roar of laughter by the lively sallies of her wit. During this conversation, some one behind her placed his hand near her head, without touching it. She instantly evinced embarrassment, forgot the subject of discussion, and could not go on until the hand was removed. The magnetizer then placed his hand upon her forehead, her recollection was restored and the conversation renewed. The magnetizer then touched the organ of veneration, when she abruptly terminated the discussion, assuming an attitude of devotion, and refused all farther communication with the physical world. Her devotion being ended, she was put in communication with a scientific gentleman, with whom she held a long and interesting conversation on the subject of Animal Magnetism; boldly controverting his arguments, and giving her own views of this extraordinary science with great clearness of thought and beauty of expression. And here she seemed like an ethereal being—a being of another creation—and in the language of the eminent divine, to whose church she belongs, "she appeared perfectly sublimated." After this she astonished all by determining with wonderful accuracy the phrenological character of various individuals present, and describing with most minute ex-

actness, their several diseases, acute or chronic, incipient or confirmed. A gentleman present was requested to sing and play a German song for her. The first note struck brought her to the piano, when during the prelude she persisted in standing, but the instant he commenced the song, she sat down by him, and with a full, sweet voice, accompanied him in the very words he sang, although in her natural state she had no knowledge of that language. She then accompanied a French gentleman in one of the songs of his country, and afterwards began again the German song, which the pianist had been requested to sing once more. During the performance of this, she was demagnetized, and of course discontinued her accompaniment. Being asked by the writer why she stopped, and if she would not still accompany the other voice, she replied that she knew neither the words nor the air."

These facts, in the somnient state, of understanding or speaking in unknown tongues, or in a language unknown to these persons in the natural state, have been frequently repeated in this city.—They were, moreover, practised in the ancient Pagan Temples, and by the apostles of the Christians. See Acts of the Apostles, chapter 2.

"Magnetism appears to have been well understood by the Egyptian hierarchy, not only from some of the effects we find recorded, but in one of the chambers (of the Temple) whose hieroglyphics are devoted to medical subjects, we find a priest in the very act of that mesmerism which is pretended to have been discovered a few years ago. The patient is seated in a chair, while the operator describes the mesmeric passes, and an attendant waits behind to support the head when it is bowed in the mysterious sleep."—*Dublin University Magazine*, Oct. 1843.

The higher orders of the Christian priesthood continued to be initiated into the mysteries taught in the temples, long after the Christian era; and this was a matter of great importance, for it was necessary for them to get up shows and theatrical performances, on holidays, in imitation of the Pagans and of the lesser mysteries, to amuse their audiences, and these were continued, even in England, as late as the last part of the sixteenth century.—*Hone's Ancient Mysteries*, &c. London, 1823.

St. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, A. D. 412, in his VIIIth book against Julian, gravely observes: "These mysteries are so profound that they can be comprehended by those only who are enlightened.—I shall not therefore attempt to speak of what is most admirable in them, lest by discovering them to the uninitiated, I should offend against the injunction not to give what is holy to the impure, nor to cast pearls before swine as cannot estimate their worth."

Theodore, Bishop of Cyzicus, in Syria, A. D. 420, in his dialogue, entitled, "The Immortal," introduces Orthodoxus, speaking thus: Answer me, if you please, in mystical and obscure terms, for perhaps, there are persons present who are not initiated in the mysteries."—*N. Y. Dissector*.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Albany Patriot.

NEWS FROM WASHINGTON.

Arrest of John Bush!—Attempt to hang a man for the crime of aiding his fellow-men to escape from bondage in the Nation's Capital.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 8, 1843.

Mr. Editor:—Some months ago a humble colored man, named Thomas Smallwood, was suspected of having aided some of the Nation's Slaves in escaping from the National Prison, to wit this City of Slave Pens and Slave Traders. There is no reason to doubt that his heart was in so good a work. One Charles Lindsey, a free colored man, informed his employer, one Mr. Kenna, who keeps store on the Pennsylvania Avenue, that Smallwood had aided people off. Hereupon Mr. Kenna formed a plan, in connection with some rascals in public office, to get money out of Thomas. In company with Police officer Merriam (a noted slave catcher) and another man, he met Smallwood, not far from New Jersey Avenue, and, after stating what Lindsey had told, demanded \$100 as the price of this secrecy. The officers also told Smallwood that they had then, no warrant against him. Thomas was frightened. He knew the power and acts of those unscrupulous men. After some parley, he paid Mr. Kenna \$80, being all he had with him. The scoundrels let him off till morning, hoping to extort more from him. He left, however, the same night. The harpies were disappointed of their prey. The poor man knowing that no justice was to be had in Washington, fled, sacrificing a considerable sum of money due him from different persons, besides household furniture, &c.

A week or two since, Thomas S. with a companion, arrived here with a good team, intending to take some free colored people, and one or two slaves, to their husbands and fathers now in Canada, or other equally secure places. Urged by different persons, they consented to take a full load. They were all ready to start, on Friday evening; most of the people being in the wagon, when it was found that the Captain GODDARD, of the "accursed guard,"—established last year, by our whig friends, under the shallow pre-

tence of protecting public property from fires and robberies, but really and solely to watch the slaves—together with one Burr and one or two more noted slave-catchers were watching the premises.—

A poor colored person, bought up for the purpose, had turned traitor—most of the people who were about to go, were arrested, and returned to their masters and mistresses. Smallwood, as you know, immediately returned to Philadelphia.—Your prompt arrangements for Bush's defence I need not recite. But I forget that your readers are not aware (if indeed you are) of the connection of Bush with the matter. The wagon and horses were placed by Smallwood in John Bush's shed, without the knowledge or consent of Bush.—Bush was not present when the people were arrested. But he was taken up, and held to bail in \$500 for "aiding and counselling" the escape of slaves.—He is much esteemed here, and obtained bail without difficulty. A day or two after he was again held to bail under the pretence of an old law of Maryland, long since repealed in that State, but still in force here, by which "Kidnapping" a slave was PUNISHED WITH DEATH. His bail was \$1000, in addition to the previous amount. The attempt to make it a case of Kidnapping, under this old law, will fail, without doubt.—But, let the reader mark it. For aiding a few poor people to get their freedom, it is attempted to HANG A FREEMAN IN WASHINGTON CITY!

Surely the fact needs no comment. It is enough to state it merely, to rouse up a storm of indignation in the minds of the people of the Free States. DAVID A. HALL Esq., the counsel designated by you, to defend the case, is actively engaged in preparing it for trial. It is desirable to associate SEWARD and MORRIS, and, perhaps, others with him, in this ALL IMPORTANT CASE. It is of far higher moment than the Van Zandt case. It involves nearly, or quite all the points that case brings us with the additional one of the CONSTITUTIONAL EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY in the District of Columbia.—On this ground, Mr. Hall is under instructions to carry the case to the Supreme Court of the U. S. at the earliest possible day. If now you are wise, Bush's case will do for the cause of abolition, MORE than the Amistad, or any other that ever came before our courts, or the country. It will require about \$1000 to do justice to it. I hope the former "Amistad" committee or at least Mr. Lewis Tappan, will soon be appointed Treasurer of the "Bush Committee" to carry on this great cause. Remember!

The overthrow of Slavery in the District of Columbia is involved in the result. Slavery exists there only in virtue of the act of Congress by which the laws of Maryland and Virginia were re-enacted. The law is NULL and VOID.—Slavery has no constitutional existence here. And if poor Bush is guilty of the acts charged, they are all legal, constitutional and praiseworthy acts.

May I beg of all the Anti-Slavery papers to copy this statement? A committee will soon be formed to conduct Bush's defence, raise funds, and apply them. It is a great work. The trial can be brought on in February, when Seward, Chase and Morris are here, in Van Zandt's case. With them and Mr. Hall, I hope my friend H. Dresser, Esq., may be joined in the conduct of this great case. Further arrangements will be announced in a few days.

Yours for Freedom,
SAMUEL WELLER, Jr.

A friend has kindly sent us the 'Lexington (Ky.) Observer and Reporter,' containing the entire speech of Cassius M. Clay, recently delivered at a mass meeting in Kentucky, with the request that it might be copied. As it contains many new and important facts, and presents a graphic description of the evils of slavery, and is what so replete with the very sentiments of Northern abolitionists, we give it with pleasure to our readers. We find it side by side with advertisements for 'Runaway Negroes,' sending its denunciations of the vile system, burning and bold, down through the sunny valleys of the slave-cursed South. We need not apologize for its length, or recommend it to perusal.

SPEECH OF C. M. CLAY,

Delivered in a mass meeting of a portion of the citizens of the 8th Congressional District, on Saturday the 30th of Dec. 1843, at the White Sulphur Springs, in Scott County, Ky., in reply to Col. R. M. Johnson, and others.

Mr. President, and Fellow Citizens: In presenting the resolutions which I have offered as a substitute for those reported by a majority of your committee, I do not hope to be more successful here, than I have been in the committee itself. This place of meeting, the presiding officer (Col. R. M. Johnson), and the audience who favor me with a hearing, all forbid any expectation on my part, of carrying the substitute. But I rejoice, humble as I may be in ability, unknown to fame, and of no consideration among men, that association with your name, in this day's deliberations, will give me a fictitious importance, which will recommend what I shall say to a hearing from the people of the United States. My opinion of little intrinsic value shall excite the minds of my countrymen to reflection; and then after mature consideration, I dare venture the assertion, that the position I have this day taken will be maintained in practice and vindicated at last by a recognition of those principles, which it is the province of history to enforce and consecrate in the affections of mankind.

Regarding the questions at issue as second only to those which have forever illustrated the year 1776, I shall speak with that freedom which I inherit as my birthright, and which I so much desire to transmit unimpaired to posterity. Tho' yet young, I am old enough to know, from sad experience, what history in such melancholy strains has uttered in vain into the deaf ears of men: that the best of counsel is far from being always the most acceptable. When the storm cast vessel is threatened with wreck, the man who would save her by throwing overboard the boxes of gold or other things of more cherished endowment, is hardly heard, whilst he who maintains that all is safe, is too often trusted till both life and treasure are irrevocably lost. He who from good motives gives even bad advice, is entitled at least to just forbearance; whilst the man who advances the best of counsel for selfish purposes deserves no consideration for his services.

Those gentlemen who would annex Texas to the Union, and hurry us blindfold down this precipice of ruin and dishonor, have here in these slave States at least, popular prejudice in their favor. On one side are honor, power, wealth, and easy access to fame; on the other side, denunciation, banishment, poverty and obscurity threaten. If I then speak freely the truth, when you, my countrymen, are to reap all the fruits of the sacrifice, no man can say that I ask too much, when I pray you to hear me with a patience, becoming the solemnity of the occasion.

First of all then, I protest against this appeal to our sympathies in behalf of Texas, and these unjust denunciations of Mexico, as foreign to the true issue, and eminently calculated to lead us into error. Though truly, and with sorrow be it said, of Anglo-Saxon blood, bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, in the language of gentlemen, I ask you, what claims of sympathy has Texas on the people of the United States? Enjoying all the blessings which the Constitution guarantees to her people, with all the offices of honor and profit open to the humblest citizen; with an unoccupied domain extending to the distant Pacific, like our first parents going out from Eden, "with the world before them where to choose" in any climate, a home—they voluntarily banished themselves from their native country, disavowed the glorious principles of the American Declaration of the rights of man, renounced the inestimable privileges of the Federal Constitution which was their inheritance, and forgetful of all the ties of common blood, language, and home, they became the fellow subjects with a half barbarian people, of a distant Spanish Prince. Yes, without becoming the advocate of Santa Ana, whom we have heard denounced as a tyrant and traitor, for the purpose of prejudicing the cause which I vindicate: trusting to indestructible truth and avenging history I challenge a comparison between Texas and Mexico. The Mexican people, inspired by that Declaration of American Independence, which recent Texas had renounced, in 1821, vindicated by a glorious revolution, her title to independence of the Spanish monarchy; and illustrated in act, the postulate taught by our Revolutionary heroes, that a people can not of right be governed without their own consent. In 1824, Mexico, following the example of the United States and Great Britain, who in 1820 had declared the slave-trade piracy, and punishable with death, prohibited in the language of Judge Story, this "infernal traffic." In 1829, once more unlike Texas, she made it part of her constitution that no person born after the promulgation of the same, in the several provinces should be held a slave. Again in 1829, this much abused Mexico, declared that slavery was extinguished in the Republic, and elevating the dread standard of "God and liberty" she called upon the sons of freedom by arms to vindicate this immortal decree. And where now, throughout this vast empire, did this glad note of liberty fail to receive a willing response? Alas! for the recreant Saxon Texas, the descendants of Washington, and Jefferson, and Adams, and Franklin—Texas, who had received from a paternal government a gratuitous fee simple in the finest soil on earth, exempt from taxation ten years, and without other sacrifice, save allegiance to the government and to the Catholic religion, which she had most solemnly sworn to yield—Texas was the first to raise the black flag of "slavery and no emancipation"—aye, Texas was the only people who dared to brave the indignation of mankind, by resisting that liberty which has made the nineteenth century forever memorable in the annals of the world. And yet, Santa Ana is a most horrible despot, and much injured and oppressed Texas is the defender of liberty! Santa Ana, who has civilized the barbarian and revolutionary spirit of his people—who has suppressed the daring bands of robbers, who infested the high ways, making life unsafe, property insecure, and commerce impracticable—who has en-

couraged education and the useful arts—who has caused to be recognized the principles of equal rights and representative government—who, in the midst of the embarrassments of the world, and the exhaustion, arising from revolutionary and civil wars, which have especially harassed his own country has preserved the Mexican faith inviolate: whose many gallant deeds in war and peace, have by almost unanimous acclamation of the people, again and again elevated him to the Presidency of the Republic: Santa Ana, who has often liberated American citizens, under circumstances which induced England to send them into hopeless exile—Santa Ana is an odious tyrant; and Texas, renegades from the land and religion of their fathers—Texas, the ingrates to their adopted and fostering country—Texas, the propagators of slavery—Texas, the repudiators of their debts, the violators of public faith—Texas is so lovely in the eyes of gentlemen, that we must take her to our embrace, although we fall with her into one common grave! But in truth we have nothing to do with the Republics of Texas and Mexico; whether they be the same or two independent nations is to us a matter of no concern.—We have no evidence that she seeks alliance even if we were disposed to grant it. I am no propagandist—I am satisfied to maintain the principles, the independence and the honor of my own country. The same impulse which moves me to repel foreign interference and to defend my own rights, constrains me also, to keep aloof from, and respect the peculiar organization which other nations have deemed most suitable to secure their rights.

I contend, then, in the language of the first resolution, that the annexation of Texas to the United States is contrary to the laws of Nations, and just cause of war on the part of Mexico.—The recognition of the Independence of Texas by the United States, may or may not have been a sufficient cause of war, it remained with Mexico to vindicate her injured honor, or to pocket the injury or insult, as to her seemed best, relying upon her own capability of maintaining the integrity of her empire.—But when the United States, not confining herself to just, or it may be unjust sympathy, not restrained to an opinion that Texas is, or ought of right to be, an independent people, makes herself an active and principal party, by taking hold of the province in controversy, thus forever making it impossible for Mexico to recover the country which up to that time was but partially or temporarily in her view alienated from her: then I say that Mexico has not only just cause of war, but that she would be disgraced in the eyes of all gallant Nations if she did not use her every power for the vindication of her injured honor and violated territory. Learned authority has been quoted here with the vain expectation of persuading us that Mexico has no cause of grievance in the event supposed. I dare not insult common sense by acquiescence in such mysterious jurisprudential jargon as this. I appeal to the reason, to the instincts, the consciences of men, for the establishment of the law of nature, upon which the laws of nations are, or ought to be forever based. What, Sir, have we a solemn treaty of amity with Mexico, to say nothing at present of natural right, and is it the part of friendship to seize with a rapacious hand a portion of the territory which she still claims, and appropriate it to ourselves? Do not these learned jurists know that a breach of treaty, is contrary to the laws of nations, as laid down by all the writers upon that most obscure science, and without reparation, just cause of war? And what reparation could we make whilst we continue to hold the price of blood and violated faith? What war was more unjust than that carried on by the United States against the Florida Indians? Suppose at some time after its commencement Mexico had agreed with the Indians, that they were, as they declared themselves to be, free and independent; and suppose Mexico had subsequently thereto, thus addressed us, "You have expended forty millions of dollars, you have lost a white man for every Indian slain in battle, you have called to your aid blood-hounds in vain, to the horror of all christendom; for eight years you have with the whole force of the empire carried on a hopeless war of recovery, it is time hostilities should cease: we will take the Floridas ourselves, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." I shall not stop to ask whether we should have deemed this a just cause of war, or to say what would have been our laconic reply.—Cases have arisen, and will doubtless again arise, when a people are struggling to throw off an unjust and tyrannical rule, and will again justify a virtuous nation even when in alliance with the tyrant in sympathizing with, and recognizing the independence of, the oppressed. Here the rectitude of the motive and just cause of the injured cure and sanctify the breach of the treaty of amity. But when Texas is the wrong-doer and Mexico the injured party: here, where, not even studiously disguised motives, wearing the semblance of virtue, but shameless and openly avowed rapacity, impel us to the breach of faith and the disregard of natural right: she will not only, and ought not only to declare war against

covered education and the useful arts—who has caused to be recognized the principles of equal rights and representative government—who, in the midst of the embarrassments of the world, and the exhaustion, arising from revolutionary and civil wars, which have especially harassed his own country has preserved the Mexican faith inviolate: whose many gallant deeds in war and peace, have by almost unanimous acclamation of the people, again and again elevated him to the Presidency of the Republic: Santa Ana, who has often liberated American citizens, under circumstances which induced England to send them into hopeless exile—Santa Ana is an odious tyrant; and Texas, renegades from the land and religion of their fathers—Texas, the ingrates to their adopted and fostering country—Texas, the propagators of slavery—Texas, the repudiators of their debts, the violators of public faith—Texas is so lovely in the eyes of gentlemen, that we must take her to our embrace, although we fall with her into one common grave! But in truth we have nothing to do with the Republics of Texas and Mexico; whether they be the same or two independent nations is to us a matter of no concern.—We have no evidence that she seeks alliance even if we were disposed to grant it. I am no propagandist—I am satisfied to maintain the principles, the independence and the honor of my own country. The same impulse which moves me to repel foreign interference and to defend my own rights, constrains me also, to keep aloof from, and respect the peculiar organization which other nations have deemed most suitable to secure their rights.

I contend, then, in the language of the first resolution, that the annexation of Texas to the United States is contrary to the laws of Nations, and just cause of war on the part of Mexico.—The recognition of the Independence of Texas by the United States, may or may not have been a sufficient cause of war, it remained with Mexico to vindicate her injured honor, or to pocket the injury or insult, as to her seemed best, relying upon her own capability of maintaining the integrity of her empire.—But when the United States, not confining herself to just, or it may be unjust sympathy, not restrained to an opinion that Texas is, or ought of right to be, an independent people, makes herself an active and principal party, by taking hold of the province in controversy, thus forever making it impossible for Mexico to recover the country which up to that time was but partially or temporarily in her view alienated from her: then I say that Mexico has not only just cause of war, but that she would be disgraced in the eyes of all gallant Nations if she did not use her every power for the vindication of her injured honor and violated territory. Learned authority has been quoted here with the vain expectation of persuading us that Mexico has no cause of grievance in the event supposed. I dare not insult common sense by acquiescence in such mysterious jurisprudential jargon as this. I appeal to the reason, to the instincts, the consciences of men, for the establishment of the law of nature, upon which the laws of nations are, or ought to be forever based. What, Sir, have we a solemn treaty of amity with Mexico, to say nothing at present of natural right, and is it the part of friendship to seize with a rapacious hand a portion of the territory which she still claims, and appropriate it to ourselves? Do not these learned jurists know that a breach of treaty, is contrary to the laws of nations, as laid down by all the writers upon that most obscure science, and without reparation, just cause of war? And what reparation could we make whilst we continue to hold the price of blood and violated faith? What war was more unjust than that carried on by the United States against the Florida Indians? Suppose at some time after its commencement Mexico had agreed with the Indians, that they were, as they declared themselves to be, free and independent; and suppose Mexico had subsequently thereto, thus addressed us, "You have expended forty millions of dollars, you have lost a white man for every Indian slain in battle, you have called to your aid blood-hounds in vain, to the horror of all christendom; for eight years you have with the whole force of the empire carried on a hopeless war of recovery, it is time hostilities should cease: we will take the Floridas ourselves, peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." I shall not stop to ask whether we should have deemed this a just cause of war, or to say what would have been our laconic reply.—Cases have arisen, and will doubtless again arise, when a people are struggling to throw off an unjust and tyrannical rule, and will again justify a virtuous nation even when in alliance with the tyrant in sympathizing with, and recognizing the independence of, the oppressed. Here the rectitude of the motive and just cause of the injured cure and sanctify the breach of the treaty of amity. But when Texas is the wrong-doer and Mexico the injured party: here, where, not even studiously disguised motives, wearing the semblance of virtue, but shameless and openly avowed rapacity, impel us to the breach of faith and the disregard of natural right: she will not only, and ought not only to declare war against